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SEP 2 1 2011

**RE:** MUR 6346

Friends of Kelly Ayotte and
Theodore V. Koch, in his official

capacity as treasurer

Dear Ms. Mitchell:

On August 12, 2010, the Federal Election Commission notified your clients, Friends of Kelly Ayotte and Theodore V. Koch, in his official capacity as treasurer, of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended. On September 15, 2011, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, and information provided by your clients, that there is no reason to believe Friends of Kelly Ayotte and Theodore V. Koch, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b. Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66,132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which explains the Commission's finding, is enclosed for your information.

If you have any questions, please contact Kasey Morgenheim, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Mark Shonkwiler

**Assistant General Counsel** 

Enclosure

Factual and Legal Analysis

1 2	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
3	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS
4 5 6 7	RESPONDENTS: Friends of Kelly Ayotte and Theodore V. Koch, in his official capacity as treasurer  MUR 6346
8 9 10	I. GENERATION OF MATTER
11	This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission by
12	Bryan Lanza. See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1).
13	II. <u>FACTUAL SUMMARY</u>
14	This matter concerns allegations that Friends of Kelly Ayotte ("Ayotte Committee" or
15	"Committee"), Kelly Ayotte's principal campaign committee for U.S. Senate in New Hampshire
16	in 2010, accepted an excessive and prohibited corporate in-kind contribution from Cornerstone
17	Action, a New Hampshire-based 501(c)(4) organization. Complainant alleges that Cornerstone
18	Action coordinated its expenditures for a television advertisement attacking Bill Binnie, one of
19	Ms. Ayotte's Republican Senate primary opponents, with the Ayotte Committee. Complainant
20	asserts that the Ayotte Committee was involved in the creation of Cornerstone Action's
21	advertisement because the advertisement utilizes video footage of Binnie from a public event
22	that was allegedly recorded by a former Ayotte campaign employee. Respondents maintain that
23	Cornerstone did not obtain the video footage from the Ayotte Cammittee, and that it was
24	publicly available material that could be downloaded from the YouTube website.
25	A. Background
26	On August 4, 2010, Cornerstone Action began airing a television advertisement entitled
27	"The Feeling is Mutual," which criticized Bill Binnie, a candidate in the Republican primary
28	election for Senate in New Hampshire. See http://www.voutube.com/watch?v=Aq0tSsxtJA4.

- 2 television monitor with the on-screen caption, "BINNIE: 'I'm looking at a value-added tax.'
- 3 Speaking in Windham, New Hampshire, YouTube video posted May 20, 2010." Id. The
- 4 advertisement includes several similar video clips of Bill Binnie accompanied by on-screen
- 5 captions of Binnie's statements about policy issues. The advertisement is narrated by voiceover
- 6 with the following script:

Bill Binnie portrays himself as a conservative. Truth is he's shockingly liberal. Binnie supports abortion to avoid the expense of disabled children. He's excited about imposing gay marriage on New Hampshire. He's praised key elements of Obama's healthcare bill. He's even said that he's open to imposing a European-style value added tax on working families. With these shockingly liberal positions, it's no wonder Bill Binnie says he doesn't like the Republican Party. Now New Hampshire Republicans can tell Binnie the feeling is mutual.

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Although neither the complaint nor the response indicate the amount spent on the advertisement, there are press reports indicating that Cornerstone Action paid \$125,000 to broadcast it. Sean Sullivan, "Binnie Under Fire from Conservative Group," *Hotline on Call*, August 5, 2010 (available at http://hotlineoncall.nationaljournal.com/archives/2010/08/binnie\_under\_fi.php).

## **B.** Alleged Coordination

The complaint alleges that Cornerstone Action coordinated its "The Feeling is Mutual" advertisement with the Ayotte Committee, resulting in Cornerstone Action making, and the Ayotte Committee accepting, a prohibited corporate and excessive in-kind contribution. The complaint alleges that a former Ayotte Committee employee, Harold Parker, recorded the video footage included in the Cornerstone Action advertisement. Complaint at 2. An attached affidavit of Matt Mayberry, the Assistant Campaign Manager for Bill Binnie for U.S. Senate,

With the exception of the last two sentences, the "The Feeling is Mutual" television ad is similar to a radio ad critical of Mr. Binnie that Cornerstone Action ran earlier in the summer of 2010. Available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-25Z-mXoTk.

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1 states that he accompanied Bill Binnie to a Windham Republican Party meeting in Windham, 2

New Hampshire on April 20, 2010, and that he observed Harold Parker, who he believes to have

- 3 been a field director for the Ayotte campaign at the time, filming the meeting on a "flip-style"
- 4 video camera; and that the video footage allegedly filmed by Parker is the same footage that
- 5 appears in the Cornerstone Action advertisement. Complaint Exhibit 3, Mayberry Affidavit
- 6 at ¶¶ 4-8.
- 7 The complaint also alleges that Kevin Smith, the Executive Director of Cornerstone
- 8 Action and Cornerstone Policy Research, has long-standing personal and professional ties to
- 9 Kelly Ayotte, and also asserts that Smith and Ayotte worked together in the New Hampshire
- 10 Governor's office in 2003. Complaint at 2. The complaint argues that the relationship between
- 11 Smith and Ayotte makes it "reasonable to conclude" that Cornerstone Action became aware of,
- 12 and was provided with, the footage by the Ayotte Committee. Complaint at 5.
- 13 The Ayotte Committee contends that there was no coordination between the Committee
- 14 and Cornerstone Action. Ayotte Committee Response at 1. The Committee's response includes
- 15 a letter from Brooks Kochvar, a representative of the Ayotte Committee, to Bill Binnie, dated
- 16 August 4, 2010. See Ayotte Committee Response Exhibit A. The letter states that the accuration
- 17 of coordination between the Committee and Cornerstone Action is false and that the Committee
- 18 first learned of the Cornerstone Action advertisement in the press on August 4, 2010. Id. at 1.
- 19 The letter disputes the allegation that Cornerstone Action supported Kelly Ayotte, as
- 20 Cornerstone's Chairman endorsed another candidate in the Republican primary election. Id.
- The letter further states that the Ayotte Committee did not provide the video footage in the 21
- **22** advertisement, and notes that a link to the video was included in a Nashua Telegraph article over

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- 1 two months prior to the dissemination of the Cornerstone Action advertisement and was
- 2 available for any member of the public to download. Id.

# 3 III. <u>ANALYSIS</u>

- The Commission finds no reason to believe that Friends of Kelly Ayotte and Theodore V.
- 5 Koch, in his official capacity as treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b by receiving an
- 6 excessive and prohibited in-kind contribution in the form of a coordinated communication.
- 7 Under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act"), a corporation
- 8 is prohibited from making any contribution in connection with a Federal election, and candidates
- 9 and political committees are prohibited from knowingly accepting corporate contributions.
- 10 2 U.S.C. § 441b. During the 2010 election cycle, individuals were prohibited from contributing
- over \$2,400 per election to a candidate's authorized political committee and authorized
- 12 committees were prohibited from accepting contributions from individuals in excess of \$2,400.
- 13 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a) and 441a(f). An expenditure made by any person "in cooperation,
- 14 consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized
- 15 political committees or their agents" constitutes an in-kind contribution. 2 U.S.C.
- 16 § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). A communication is coordinated with a candidate, a candidate's authorized
- 17 committee, or agent of the candidate or committee when the communication satisfies the three-
- pronged test set forth in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a): (1) the communication is paid for by a person
- 19 other than that candidate or authorized committee; (2) the communication satisfies at least one of
- the content standards set forth in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c); and (3) the communication satisfies at
- 21 least one of the conduct standards set forth in 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d). The Commission's
- 22 regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 109.21 provide that coordinated communications constitute in-kind

- 1 contributions from the party paying for such communications to the candidate, the candidate's
- 2 authorized committee, or the political party committee which coordinates the communication.

#### A. Payment

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- The payment prong of the coordination regulation, 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1), is satisfied.
- 5 The advertisement's disclaimer states that it was paid for by Cornerstone Action and the National
- 6 Organization for Marriage.

# B. Content

The content prong of the coordination regulation is also satisfied. The content prong is satisfied if the communication at issue meets at least one of the following content standards: (1) a communication that is an electioneering communication under 11 C.F.R. § 100.29; (2) a public communication that disseminates, distributes, or republishes, in whole or in part, campaign materials prepared by a candidate or the candidate's authorized committee; (3) a public communication that expressly advocates the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for Federal office; or (4) a public communication, in relevant part, that refers to a clearly identified House or Senate candidate, and is publicly distributed or disseminated in the clearly identified candidate's jurisdiction 90 days or fewer before the candidate's primary election.<sup>2</sup> See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(c).

Cornerstone Action's advertisement identified Senate candidate Bill Binnie and was

broadcast on television on August 4, 2010, 41 days before the September 14, 2010 Republican primary election in New Hampshire. Thus, the communication at issue in the complaint satisfies

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A "public communication" is defined as a communication by means of any broadcast, cable or satellite communication, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mass mailing or telephone bank, or any other form of general public political advertising. 11 C.F.R. § 100.26.

- 1 the content prong by constituting a public communication referring to a clearly identified
- 2 candidate distributed within 90 days of an election.

## C. Conduct

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The Commission's regulations set forth the following six types of conduct between the payor and the committee, whether or not there is agreement or formal collaboration, that satisfy the conduct prong of the coordination standard: (1) the communication "is created, produced, or distributed at the request or suggestion of a canditate or an authorized committee," or if the communication is created, produced, or distributed at the suggestion of the payor and the candidate or authorized committee assents to the suggestion; (2) the candidate, his or her committee, or their agent is materially involved in the content, intended audience, means or mode of communication, the specific media outlet used, or the timing or frequency of the communication; (3) the communication is created, produced, or distributed after at least one substantial discussion about the communication between the person paying for the communication, or that person's employees or agents, and the candidate or his or her authorized committee, his or her opponent or opponent's authorized committee, a political party committee, or any of their agents:<sup>3</sup> (4) a common vendor uses or conveys information material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication; (5) a former employee ar independent contractor uses or conveys information material to the creation, production, or distribution of the communication; and (6) the dissemination, distribution, or republication of campaign materials.<sup>4</sup> 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(1)-(6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A "substantial discussion" includes informing the payor about the campaign's plans, projects, activities, or needs, or providing the payor with information material to the communication. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The last standard applies only if there was a request or suggestion, material involvement, or substantial discussion that took place after the original preparation of the campaign materials that are disseminated, distributed, or republished.

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1 The material involvement and substantial discussion standards of the conduct prong are 2 not satisfied "if the information material to the creation, production, or distribution of the 3 communication was obtained from a publicly available source." 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(d)(2) and 4 (3). See also Explanation and Justification for the Regulations on Coordinated 5 Communications, 71 Fed. Reg. 33190, 33205 (June 8, 2006) (explaining that "Julider the new 6 safe harbor, a communication created with information found . . . on a candidate's cr political 7 party's Web site, or learned from a public campaign acreeth . . . is not a coordinated 8 communication"). However, to qualify for the safe harbor for the use of publicly available 9 information, the person or organization paying for communication "bears the burden of showing 10 that the information used in creating, producing or distributing the communication was obtained from a publicly available source." Id. As one way of meeting this burden, the person or 11 12 organization paying for the communication may demonstrate that the information used in the 13 communication was obtained from a publicly available website. Id. 14 The available information indicates that the video footage of Bill Binnie used in 15 Cornerstone Action's advertisement was obtained from a publicly available source, specifically a video on the YouTube website that was posted on May 20, 2010, and referenced in a news article 16 17 in the Narhua Telegraph several days later. The YouTabe weesite indicates that the viden was uploaded by a user named "nhvoter," and there is no indication on the YouTube website that this 18 19 user was associated with the Ayotte campaign. See 20 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yterozcbsyo. 21 The Ayotte Committee has specifically denied that Cornerstone Action obtained the footage from the Committee and there is no information to suggest otherwise. Additionally, the 22

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- 1 available information does not indicate that the Ayotte Committee was materially involved in
- 2 any decisions regarding Cornerstone Action's advertisement.
- The available information also does not indicate that the various other tests for the
- 4 conduct prong were satisfied. There is no available information indicating that the Cornerstone
- 5 Action advertisement was created at the request or suggestion of the Ayotte Committee, that the
- 6 Ayottee Committee was materially involved in the content or distribution of the advertisement,
- 7 or that the advertisement was created after a substantial discussion about the communication
- 8 between representatives of Cornerstone Action and the Ayotte Committee. There is nothing to
- 9 suggest that Cornerstone Action and the Ayotte Committee shared a common vendor or that a
- 10 former Ayotte Committee employee worked with Cornerstone Action on its advertisement.
- 11 There is also no basis on which to conclude that the footage would constitute republication of
- campaign material, because the available information does not establish that the video footage
- 13 constituted Ayotte Committee campaign materials. Accordingly, the Commission finds no
- 14 reason to believe that Friends of Kelly Ayotte and Theodore V. Koch, in his official capacity as
- treasurer, violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(f) and 441b by receiving an excessive and prohibited in-kind
- 16 contribution in the form of a coordinated communication.